

THE NEW REPUBLIC.

VOL. 1,

CLEVELAND, JULY 5, 1862.

NO. 12.

Infidelity.

The word infidelity is still potent in the conjuration of evil spirits. It is a word suggestive of wicked associations, and charged with the gulf of bitterness. It is a title of opprobrium, and is meant to be. It has been purposely scented with sulphur; and yet infidelity, as popularly defined, is no sin in the sight of God. It is not marked in the decalogue, nor noticed in the Sermon on the Mount; it is no guilt of which a man's natural conscience convicts him. If it is a crime, it is a crime purely factitious and conventional. Enlightened reason knows nothing of it; the simple heart knows nothing of it; the awakened soul knows nothing of it; the infinite Spirit of truth knows nothing of it. It is a ghost which the prevalent theology has scared up from the region of ancient night. Had there been no sectarian exclusiveness, no assumption of infallibility by churches or parties, no dogmatism on matters of speculation, what is called infidelity would never have been heard of; the thing would never have been imagined. Infidelity is simply the reaction of the human mind against the narrow intellectual restrictions of the creeds. When these are sharply defined, jealously guarded, severely enforced by weight of authority, infidelity smoulders in the breasts of the thoughtful many, and breaks out with volcanic force in the passionate denials of the heroic few, who, like Voltaire and Thomas Paine, have the courage to make themselves heard. If the creeds become confused and lax, if the authority that sustains them become divided against itself, as is the case at present, infidelity comes forth into the light; it increases, it is outspoken, it assumes coherent and systematic shape, and at the same time loses its impatient, aggressive, and negative character; and so modern infidelity differs from that of any preceding time, chiefly in this: that it is so powerful, and so widely diffused, that it can afford

to be more comprehensive, positive, wise, and calm.

We have only to repeat over thoughtfully a few of the great infidel names, to be satisfied that the epithet has been bestowed on men who have placed confidence in the honest exercise of the human reason, who have enlarged the boundaries of scientific and other inquiry, and opened new fields to the occupancy of the soul. The name of Galileo springs at once into every recollection. Let me add those of Huss and Jerome; of Wickliffe, Luther, and his compeers; of Shelley, who believed so much in God that he was wont to call himself an atheist. The Puritans, the Quakers, the Unitarians, from Socinius to Priestly, from Priestly to Channing, from Channing to Parker and Martineau; the Reformers—Anti-Slavery men like Garrison and Phillips, who say, "If the Bible countenances slavery, so much the worse for the Bible;" advocates of the claims of Woman, who venture to criticise the apostle Paul for his ungallant depreciation of the fair sex; the enemies of the gallows, whose humanity presuming upon some natural growth in the conscience of mankind in the course of several thousand years, take the liberty of doubting whether the barbarous enactments of the age of Noah are a legitimate basis for the legislation of a Christian commonwealth—all these, and multitudes besides, are written in the black list of infidelity. Infidels, in all generations of the Church, have been the *progressives* in every direction; the believers in the present and the future; the people who had confidence in the improbability of man, and the perennial inspirations of God; the men and women who were persuaded that all the spheres of wisdom and excellence were opened to human powers, and that man was welcomed to all the treasure they contained.

—[Rev. O. B. Frothingham.]

Unspeakably happy fact is it that men are outgrowing the religions that have afflicted and debased them.—[Gerrit Smith.]

A Third Theory.

In these days of martyrdom to mistakes and easy conversion from infidel to supernatural theories, it seems well to announce a third theory and faith. Our faith is not disturbed by the denial of a negative materialism, nor built up nor warmed by the affirmation of a supernaturalism, which seems to us but a negation still of what is most divine and spiritual.

We have never believed, for our part, in the quadruped doctrine of a gross materialism. We have never believed that rocks and stones, that lumps of clay and blocks of wood were the only realities in the Universe. We have believed that there were realities that the fingers could not grasp, nor the eyes see,—that, indeed, these material substances, seeming so steadfast and solid, were, after all, more shadows than realities, in comparison with the spiritual reality and thought behind them, and which, in some manner, they represent and express.

Neither have we believed in the supernatural—that the divine and spiritual are outside of and transcending the natural, nor that wisdom is of an external source, and has been revealed in any especial place or manner, nor that it is to be imported into a man, or to be come at through mediators or second-hand help. We believe in a faith that respects the present, respects the soul and humanity, native and aboriginal, growing out of human nature itself, out of its thought and life.

The Universe exists to-day solid and significant as ever of old; life is as deep and full, and truth and wisdom as close at hand. The divinest revelation of God is humanity itself, the oldest and primal, the most constant and enduring. It came before bibles, religions, theories, creeds, of whatever sort. The human soul is the highest oracle. Revelations come not to it, but out of it. The Bible came not down out of Heaven as a revelation to mankind, but up out of the soul, as a revelation of itself. It teaches not what the soul must do, but what it has done. It is not a guide for the present nor future life, but a record of the past. Nature works her energy in and through the blade of grass, unfolding it from the inside. So God works in and through Humanity, bringing his truth up and through it. Faith comes not from abroad, but is grown from within. It is the resultant of all our experience and life. Growth of soul is the only salvation for the race. The soul itself needs not saving, but by so much soul as a man has is he saved. It is not vicarious nor foreign, but natural as the growth of trees and the blooming of flowers. Not to the past are we to look for the truth, nor to any special revelation. The world stands not in need of revelation.

Truth is infinite and shines with every star, in every blade of grass and blooming flower, in every tree and rock, through every thought and motion of manifold human life. The only lack is perception to behold it. God has revealed himself from the beginning, and can make his revelation none the more full and complete. It is for thee, O man, as thy vision enlarges to behold him more and more.

Apply thyself to a pure life and thought and study, and thou hast found the infinite and everlasting revelation which shall unfold for thee as fast as thou canst receive it.

It is a natural and easy transition from a materialism, which denies God and all spiritual entities, to a supernaturalism which draws the evidence of its faith in the divine and immortal from "traps in a table drawer" or the "wriggling" of a "spirit dial." It is materialism still and ignores the most spiritual and divine side of human nature. To rest the sublime doctrine of God and immortality on such evidence brings it down to a matter of trifling speculation and opinion. To the full-grown soul, the great doctrines of the spiritual world come with such divine grandeur and reality, growing so into the consciousness, and becoming so linked with the consciousness of existence itself, that mere phenomenal proof of their truth seems whimsical and unworthy.

The true doctrine of God and immortality comes not as a second-hand fact or hearsay, cannot be conveyed by any written message or "table tipping," but comes as the perception of beauty comes, as the consciousness of life. It leaves not room for speculation, but the soul dwells serene and wise, conscious of a divine destiny, and of its identity with the unfailing forces of Nature. Only this one question does the divine soul ask: Am I worthy of immortal life? Do these purposes of to-day require so wide a sweep for their fulfillment? Then shall it come, and the present becomes infinite and endless, filled with unfading beauty and divinity.

Opinions change. Men verge from one mistake to another, but Nature yet stands placid and serene; the life of the race still goes forward. Our whims, nor caprice, nor mistakes will change it not, nor keep men, at last, from the highest faith and wisdom,—a divine trust in his own soul and manhood.

H. S.

We live in a transition period, when the old faiths which comforted nations, and not only so, but made nations, seem to have spent their force. I do not find the religions of men at this moment very creditable to them, but either childish and insignificant, or unmanly and effeminating. The fatal trait is the divorce between religion and morality.—[Emerson.]

The President Insults the People.

The Religious Society of Progressive Friends, in Chester County, Pa., recently sent a delegation to Washington, praying the President to proclaim emancipation. The President, in reply, is reported, by the N. Y. Tribune, to have said:—

"If a decree of emancipation could abolish Slavery, John Brown would have done that work effectually. Such a decree surely could not be more binding upon the South than the Constitution, and that cannot be enforced in that part of the country now. Would a proclamation of freedom be more effective?"

This reply from the President is an insult to an intelligent people. In it he has not given the reason—while pretending to give it—for not proclaiming emancipation. He is not sincere in the utterances. This is proved in previous words from his own pen, in his Extra Message, where he invites the South to sell, as Wendell Phillips says, and then, in connection, manifestly designs to make himself understood by the friends of freedom as threatening the conspirators that he will take their slaves from them if they don't cease their hostilities—thus acknowledging he has the power that he might long ago have put in force, if it had been his pleasure—and so giving himself a criminal contradiction in his present sham pretension of lacking power to enforce emancipation. It is worthy a small lawyer—it is worthy a petty pettifogger—it is worthy a low, intriguing politician. It is not worthy a truthful, honest man, in his rectitude, presiding over, and holding the destinies of, a great people, in an hour of imminent peril.

The very reason, the only reason, why he cannot enforce the Constitution in the South, is the fact that he does not proclaim emancipation. The proclamation of emancipation would make the double difference of taking from one side and adding to the other, in numerical force, equal to the number and efficiency of one-half the Southern army now in the field; and, what is still more than all this besides, it would be taking away from the conspirators what, and all, they are fighting for—their institution—thus destroying their motive, in addition to destroying their power. This he well knows. Why did he modify Fremont and Hunter, but to prevent emancipation—to prevent the proclamation of emancipation going into effect? With his own proclamation added to theirs, he has every reason to believe that before now the work could have been accomplished. Will somebody say for him here that he made these modifications lest Kentucky should go into conspiracy and treason? And why does Kentucky hold that terrifying red over his humiliated head, but to prevent his issuing such a proclamation and thus effecting emancipation? His own self-contradiction crimines him. His sham pretext is too shallow. He insults the people.

Who is so blind as not to see his insincerity and his unfaithfulness to his own knowledge of the truth in the case, when he would make the people believe he has no more power to enforce a decree of eman-

cipation than John Brown had? He would make the people believe what he knows to be the reverse of the truth. He knows that John Brown was hindered by the very power which he, as the Executive of the Nation, possesses for the purpose in question. I say again, then, he insults the intelligence of the people, and shamefully degrades himself, and ignominiously degrades as many of the people as submit to the scandalous insult.

If the same had been said by Abraham Lincoln at home in Illinois, it would have been of small comparative importance. Coming from the President at Washington, it is a thousand fold more harmful, and therefore a thousand fold more deserves rebuke. Or if the President had been settling small matters between rival petitioners for place, there would be less impropriety in our passing by unnoticed his trifling with truth and honesty. But he has in hand the gravest, the most momentous matter than can occupy a ruler standing in the highest place among the rulers of men, in a more vital and opportune crisis than has fallen to the fortune of any predecessor of his among human rulers. Is the situation too high for him? Is his head giddy on that peerless eminence? Is it added by the annoyance of place-hunters? Then he is not qualified for his business—is not equal to the situation—is not fit for the place and trust—and should retire.

Stopping here, and reading over the report again in the Tribune, I find him reported as having said—previously to saying what I have been commenting on—

"It was a relief to be assured that the deputation were not applicants for office, for his chief trouble was from that class of persons. The next most troublesome subject was Slavery."

Is this the key to his conduct? Has he not yet, during these fifteen months of this internecine war, been above allowing himself to be "CHIEFLY troubled" about gratifying and satisfying hungry politicians? Has "SLAVERY"—the cause of all this convulsion of two continents—two hemispheres—involving bloodshed and starvation not yet computable—to say nothing of its own intrinsic atrociousness and matchless inhumanity—only found place in his attention "NEXT," after he has occupied himself "CHIEFLY"—at least allowed himself to be "CHIEFLY TROUBLED"—with his hungry horde? Verily, President-making and making compensation for it are great matters! For reasons then and there rendered, I have said, on another occasion, that our Commander-in-Chief is conducting our war politically—not patriotically—not righteously—not morally—not manfully. Here is additional evidence of it, out of his own mouth.

The President not only insults the people—he betrays them—he sacrifices their interests to the interests of his personal flatterers—he perfidiously attends to the demands of the politicians first—the interests of the people, if they get any attention, come in afterward. "How long?"! ORSON S. MURRAY.

Reasonings.

Though some philosophers have doubted their own existence, and the existence of external nature, I shall take for granted the reality of those existences obvious to the senses of mankind in general. It is of no avail to argue against the doubts of one who might doubt even the existence of his own doubts.

We are conscious of our own existence, and of the existence of the matter constituting the objects around us.

Something exists. And it is just as true that something has existed eternally. For nothing cannot create something; or something can never come out of nothing. I do not now say that matter, in the common acceptance of the term, has existed eternally; but something has so existed, else nothing would now be.

All the objects of our knowledge, have, from time almost immemorial, been divided into two kinds, designated *matter* and *mind*. The difference between the two existences has generally been conceded to be in *kind* and not in *degree*.

But we have here no point of controversy with those who contend that mind is the most refined of all substances, so long as they leave it the faculties of thinking, willing and feeling, not possessed by inanimate or gross matter.

We stated that something had existed eternally. But this system of things which constitutes our world is not an eternal existence, at least in its present form. Historical authority unites with reason in establishing the truth that this world in which we live has had a beginning.

It is a progressive world. The facts of science show this. And progression implies a beginning. It also implies imperfection; which is another fact observed by well-developed minds. Now had our world existed eternally, it must ere this have progressed or attained to perfection. But it has not; consequently it has not existed eternally.

But, says the Materialist, we contend not that the world has existed eternally—only the matter of which it is composed has so existed. And, says he, it is a law of Necessity that it should so exist. But how shall we account for the commencement of progression in matter? If we do so by an *inhering* law in matter—by a law of Necessity, it must have developed our world to infinity of perfection during an infinity of time, certainly. That it has not done so, shows either that matter has not existed eternally, or there has also existed, out of and above matter, a power controlling it and causing the commencement of progression in it.

Rather matter must be a creation of or an ema-

nation from such power, or the above theory must be true. And the facts of science exhibit phenomena to be explained only by the intervention of a power above the established order of Nature. It is a law of Nature that an oak can only be produced from an acorn, or an acorn from an oak; yet science demonstrates the existence of a time when no plants or embryo from which they now originate existed.

"For myself," says the world-famed Agassiz, "I have the conviction that species have been created successively and at distinct intervals. It is necessary that we recur to a cause more exalted, and recognize influences more powerful, exercising over all Nature an action more direct than that which causes secondary changes in species which they have undergone during a geological epoch."

Should it be admitted that the physical forces existing in inorganic matter are adequate to cause all the phenomena manifested therein, still organized beings, says the Professor, do not exist in consequence of their continued agency, but have made their successive appearances upon the earth by the immediate intervention of the creator. For the products of what are commonly called physical agents are everywhere on the globe the same, and have in all geological periods been the same; while organized beings are everywhere different, and have differed in all ages.

But in reference to the physical forces of matter found in Nature in general, it strikes me the Professor's language is applicable: "As long as it cannot be shown that matter of itself reasons, I shall consider the manifestation of thought in matter as evidence of the existence of a thinking being as its author, and shall look upon an intelligent and intelligible connection between the facts of Nature as direct proof of the existence of a thinking God, as certainly as man exhibits the power of thinking when he recognizes their natural relations." "And that the plan of creation has not grown out of the necessary action of physical law, but was the *free* conception of the almighty intellect, matured in his thought before it was manifested in tangible, external forms."

This must be so, else Materialism is true, and matter has created mind—violating a principle established in philosophy, that an effect cannot transcend its cause. If man be an effect, (and that he is no one denies,) and manifesting as he does intellect and will, he cannot have been produced by a cause destitute of intelligence and will. The great controversy of this age is between Materialism and Spiritualism, properly so called; and the subject is a vital one, for the influences of the two systems, I

think, are very different, and the man in doubt here is apt to be also

"In doubt his MIND or BODY to prefer,
——Reasoning but to err."

Of the two hypotheses of ultimate causation, namely, Spiritualism and Materialism, one must be true, and true to the exclusion of the other I think.

I am a Spiritualist. As firmly as I am convinced that there is a plan manifested in Nature, so firmly am I convinced that the same plan was conceived of and adopted by a mind. Mind we designate as that which *thinks*. I do not say it is an immaterial substance, strictly speaking, and I do not know as we can much better define it. It is a substance not directly cognizable by the senses, and might be called a spiritual substance, perhaps, more properly.

It appears that we are under the necessity of believing in the eternal existence of mind, or matter, or both of them. Materialism is a belief in the eternal existence of matter, and the production of mind from it as a result of organization. Spiritualism I would define to be a belief in the eternal existence of an Infinite Spirit, before and separate from that of the material Universe. A third form, called Pantheism, is a belief in the eternal existence of matter and mind, claiming thought and matter as the only known attributes of God.

Now geology settles the fact that there was a period when man did not exist on this earth. Now we find in ourselves a spiritual and a material existence, intimately united, but different in their respective natures.

Now the human race being an effect, cannot be likewise a cause of its own origination, or the cause of any creation of Nature, in any true sense of the term. A being must be infinitely superior to us in order to create us or any thing else. It would be much more reasonable to suppose that man created a baboon, than that a baboon created man, or gave birth to man. Mankind, or womankind, have occasionally given birth to baboonish or idiotic children, but for the baboon to give birth to something above itself was never known. Man is a form of existence much higher, also, than any of the forms of mere inanimate existence. And if man could not have created himself, it is still more true that he could not have been created by the laws of inanimate existences. No known existing force in matter could have created man or organized beings.

That there are manifestations of mind in Nature, and such a mind as the human, so far as the human mind has traced these manifestations, seems to be conceded by the most scientific investigators. The traces of thought are everywhere found in Nature—indicating mind. Now matter could not have produced mind, for mind must be pre-supposed in such

a production. Conscious thought must have previously existed to lay the plan of production. As to nothing creating something, or something emanating from nothing, it seems impossible, as theologians say.

But is the difficulty removed by saying that God created something out of nothing? Is it not impossible in the nature of things? If something *can* not come out of nothing—if it self-evidently implies a contradiction to suppose so—do we not attribute to God the performance of something impossible in the nature of things—an absurdity?

I believe God is the author of the order we discover in Nature. I cannot believe that Nature produced or developed God, or intelligence. But I would sooner say that the world of matter is an emanation from God, than that God created it out of nothing. Not a *necessary* emanation from a mere *thing*, or a *thinking* thing—but from a free, thinking, willing *Being*—from the energies of a living, omnipotent God—a result from him, the transcendent and intelligent cause of everything finite.

The elements of the Universe may once have existed in God, and may yet all return again to the original source, as fancied by Oriental philosophers. And our sacred writings say that the world was formed by the power or active energy of God, and that the things *seen* were not made of *things* which *do appear*. They do not say the world was created or formed out of *nothing*—but it was not *formed* out of things evident to the senses, may be the meaning.

But when *organic laws* are spoken of as *causing organization*, and the *nature of things* as *giving a nature to things*, effects are confounded with causes, and the whole course of the reasoning is vitiated. The relation of creature and creator is the key note of the highest philosophy. Religion and true philosophy are bound up in this relationship—in the belief of an Intelligent Power, through whom all is, and has been, and will be. The whole of things must be conceived as a manifested idea; and the forces of Nature are the *power of manifestation*. The Idea, and the Power of manifesting it, form our conception of God.

Viewing our world as a progressive creation, its whole—that which *has been*, *is*, and *yet to be*—can exist alone in mind. The whole is the divine eternal idea of the Omnipotent, and in things we read the thoughts of God.

Says a Reviewer of Agassiz' "Natural History":—"To the great Professor, then, we listen, when, after having sounded every note in the wide gamut of Nature, after reading the story of life as it stands written in the long series of records reaching from

the Cambrian fossils to Ovarian germs, after tracing the divine principle of order from the star-like flower at his feet to the flower-like circle of planets which spreads its fiery corolla, in obedience to the same simple law that disposes the leaves of the growing plant,—as our eminent mathematician tells us,—he relates in simple and reverential accents the highest truths he has learned in traversing God's mighty Universe."

And well may all smatterers in science reverentially listen to the great Professor when he says:—"The combination in time and space of all these thoughtful conceptions exhibits not only thought, it shows also premeditation, power, wisdom, greatness, prescience, providence. In one word, all these facts in their natural connection proclaim aloud the one God, whom man may know, adore and love; and Natural History must, in good time, become the analysis of the thoughts of the Creator of the Universe, as manifested in the animal and vegetable kingdoms."

X. P.

Letter from Aemceka.

DEAR EDITOR:—I cannot always be a dignified woman when I write you, and to-day I am a little girl—a child. I have been glancing over the contents of the 9th No. of the NEW REPUBLIC, which I received last evening, and to tell you the truth, in spite of the calm joy which the first article has lent me, I find on the remaining pages some thoughts, ideas and suggestions, that I have cried over. Now your readers will smile at this, and so will you, for I don't suppose *your* eyes, always brim full of Hope's brightness, *could* cry; but humor me, and let emotion and impulse, now and then, take their turn in my heart. Perhaps you never knew I was an April child; therefore, although this letter begins in tears, maybe I shall give you sunshine, and even a rainbow before closing.

Did you ever love anybody, Mr. Editor? Of course you have. And while you knew the object of your love to be an embodiment of purity and wisdom, did you ever hear that object speak of depreciatingly? Perhaps you have. Well, you know although your heart ached a little, that same depreciation never really hurt either yourself or the loved one, but only the deprecator. For he who fails to understand and justly estimate whatever is good and pure in any idea or object presented to the mind's comprehension, has lost the opportunity of gathering to himself another pearl to increase the riches of his happiness. So it is not for any loved one that tears gather, but for those who misinterpret him; for I see how many rough paths must be trodden, how the weary feet must bleed, how the

spirit must faint under the wounds of error, before the weeping, mistaken world will turn to follow the footsteps of one that can guide us to the land of eternal Harmony and Peace.

And yet you—seeming skeptic—believe in Jesus as much as I. You believe in those immortal principles of Love, Justice and Truth, which are embraced in his teachings, and for which he died. You endeavor to disseminate these principles all along the walks of life, as the only sure foundation for an abiding happiness. Now will you analyze your feelings, and discover to me the reason why you dislike to have these ideas of goodness and truth associated and allied with the man Jesus. Is there the least element of selfishness or aggrandizement about it? I hope not. Is it because you consider it such an improbable and incredible idea that Jesus ever really existed on earth? I think not, for you believe in Christs of to-day. Is it not rather caused by the disgust and aversion aroused in your heart by the inconsistencies of Church doctrines, and the really anti-religious spirit into which these professed Christ-founded beliefs have educated the world?

While Churches have fancied they were worshipping their Master, they have been really crucifying and killing him again, and murdering his cause. And although quite ignorantly they buried him in the tomb of Theory, and rolled the stone of Superstition against the sepulcher, yet the power of Truth has shaken the ground, the guard of creeds shrink away, and Jesus, the good, the merciful, and the holy, comes forth to live and walk with us to-day. Oh! let me run and tell the discouraged ones that I have seen and spoken with him. Joy, joy for thee, impulsive, enthusiastic Peter! Life and glory for thy heart, faithful, loving, trusting John! But alas! incredulous Thomas, must thou indeed touch his pierced side before faith can comfort thee? Wait patiently! thou shalt have the opportunity; for lo! he stands wounded before thee every day.

The skeptic, though he believes not in Jesus, can readily believe in the simple and abiding truths of Right; but never holds his ear out to catch the question that is whispered daily to his spirit, "Have I been so long time with thee, and yet hast thou not known me?" Must we discard the truth of salvation because the word has been mixed up with ideas abhorrent to reason? Because the terms Religion, Piety and Christianity have been wrongly applied, shall we say there is no genuine value in their true definition, and banish them from our vocabulary? You may annihilate the terms, but the principles will remain deathless and progressive. May not the skeptic, thinking he is largely liberal upon his extensive platform of Reason, yet be as blindly prej-

advised as the Churchman! Is not entire skepticism as well as entire credulity, a soul-weakness?

If I believed with the Boston Investigator, that Jesus Christ was a religionist who intended only a part of humanity should enjoy the privilege of salvation, and that such a part should be entitled to exclusive rights or privileges, I should wish as much as any one, to have that name, now dearer to me than all others, cast aside and forgotten. But believing, in opposition to popular theories, that these ideas are diametrically opposite to Christ's teaching, I cannot but think he should be made a part of the platform of every moral scheme or design. Don't rail at the platform of Christianity, because the Religion of the world has reared upon it a weak and unseemly fabric. The feeble structure clings, tottering to its foundation; but there is nothing to cement or hold it there. Destruction marks it for her own. But the platform will remain, its gold, emerald and sapphire undimmed, not a diamond marred, not a ruby or opal tarnished. On this let the men and women of the Nineteenth Century rear the new Temple of Christianity, so consistent in its design, so beautiful in its parts, that the waiting world shall be drawn in at the shining portal, while Love shall teach the doctrine of universal equality and brotherhood, and Charity shall break the bread of Life to the famished multitude.

Eighteen hundred years have passed, and we seek, Oh! so earnestly, for the one simple fountain that can quench the spirit's thirst. Eureka! Under the accumulated rubbish of superstition and man-made doctrines, I see the clear fount welling up. Unpolluted and sparkling, the drops of Eternal Life still flow. Ho! earnest ones, let us clear away the dust and leaves! Call up the discouraged that they may see it is not a fable! You may designate the fountain by what term you please, I will name it Jesus; because that word is untarnishable. Ignorance and error have spit their poisonous and corroding slime upon it, ever since the hour that God first set it as a seal upon the World's forehead. But to-day, every letter in the word is bright as a character of fire; and now, as I glance from my window, I read it written everywhere over all this dear, beautiful Earth. The leaves rustle it, the birds sing it, the flowers have folded it like fragrance into their crimson hearts, and if my spirit sees correctly, the stereotyping angel is fixing it in immovable type into the souls of men.

The clouds pass: Lo! the rainbow and the sunshine are here.

АЕМСЕКА.

Granite Hills, June 21, '62.

REPLY.

MY DEAR FRIEND:—I cannot help being a little surprised that you should thus address me. Your

criticism, so far as I am concerned, is, to my mind, so entirely uncalled for, that I have looked very carefully to see whether you really mean me. As you evidently do, I can only conclude that you have not been a reader of the NEW REPUBLIC. You call me a "skeptic." What evidence have you that I am one? I am not at all skeptical. On the other hand, I am inclined to be credulous. For instance, I never in my life thought of doubting a future existence. Before the "Rochester Rappings" were heard of, I believed in the possibility of Spirit intercourse. Since three weeks after I first heard of the "Rappings," I have not had a doubt that they were made by Spirits. (Can you say as much?) I have never seriously doubted that such a man as Jesus lived, or that he was one of the best of men. Where then is the evidence of my skepticism? Have I not gone so far in my endorsement of Jesus, as to adopt him as my standard in morals? And have I not claimed that the Nation is to be saved through him; and thus subjected myself to the criticism of Rationalists? Perhaps the trouble with you is that you are not used to reading free journals, and so have got me mixed up with some of the other writers for the NEW REPUBLIC. I would have you guard against this. I only write what appears without signature, and am not responsible for the rest.

You do not define your position very clearly, but I do not gather from your letter that you believe in anything that I do not. You do not even seem to believe in the personality of Jesus, while I am not disposed to doubt that such a man actually existed. You say, in speaking of the Fountain of Eternal Life, "I call it Jesus." Now, was Jesus a veritable man, or does "Jesus" mean a "fountain of Life?"

It is true that individual organisms are, in a very important sense, fountains of life. In hardly any other way can we derive so much life as from the spiritual elements flowing from other individuals, through the principle of Attraction. It is on account of Jesus' extraordinary magnetic power, or, in other words, the extraordinary development of his spiritual nature, or, in still other words, the extraordinary development of his love nature, that he is, in such a remarkable degree, a Savior.

You ask me why I "dislike to have the ideas of goodness and truth associated and allied with the man Jesus." I must ask if I have given any evidence of such dislike?

You admit that it is the principles of Justice, Love and Truth that are all-saving in their influence. What is this but Rationalism? And are we not all Saviors just in proportion as we embody these principles?

THE NEW REPUBLIC.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, JULY 5, 1862.

THE NEW REPUBLIC is published weekly, at one dollar a year; six months, fifty cents; single copies (post paid) three cents.

For sale at No. 283 Superior Street.

Remittances should be made in bills of Ohio, Eastern, Indiana State, or Detroit banks, Treasury notes, coin or stamps. Address,

NEW REPUBLIC,
CLEVELAND, Ohio.

Our Military System.

We made an extract, last week, from an excellent article in the Cincinnati Times on this subject, showing, very clearly, that our military system is characterized by heartless cruelty, and a damning spirit of aristocracy. We quote further:—

"Take Gen. McDowell as a sample. He occupies, with his glittering retinue, some twenty or thirty tents, and besides his staff proper, with a train of young and useless aid-de-camps, he has a corps of cooks, a corps of laundresses, a corps of hostlers, and a corps of servants. The amount of transportation to carry himself, staff and baggage, can be imagined. Yet Gen. McDowell insists on dispensing with transportation, by compelling the common soldier to carry all he wears, fights with, sleeps on and under, with all his food for five days! See one of McDowell's soldiers, with his clothing, his bedding and his overcoat on his back, in his knapsack, a cartridge box and fifty rounds of ammunition, a haversack crammed with food, a shelter tent wrapped around his body, and his gun on his shoulder, and you witness a human being transformed into a beast of burden. And as the commander rides down the line on his gay charger, untrammelled except by the innumerable bands of gold lace which adorn his uniform, you can not detect one spark of sympathy in his countenance for those overloaded, exhausted, and sometimes dying men."

Here is Americanism for you! What glorious Democracy! What love for the People! What heroic self-denial and devotion!

Whatever other result, there will one good come out of this war. This whole system of aristocracy and outrageous expenditure to enable those at the head of affairs to ape European nabobs and despots, will suffer entire demolition. The People have been wont to believe that we lived under a Democracy—that the leading idea in the Government of this Nation, was the welfare of the People—that those placed at the head of affairs were the People's servants, whose duty and pleasure it was to serve the People and promote their interests. But how does this idea harmonize with the facts in the case? "Look on this picture, and then on that"! No wonder our grand Army encounters disaster. No more or better troops could be had or asked for, than are led to needless suffering and ignoble death, by our incompetent and unworthy generals—unworthy and incompetent because the love of place and senseless show, takes the place of a heroic devotion to the Country's interests, and a humane regard

for the welfare of those under their command. Greater disaster, overwhelming ruin, stares the Nation in the face! And if this more than probable result overtakes us, the more important immediate cause will be the one I have indicated.

I said utter ruin would likely ensue. I think so. But only as the Country is represented by those now at the head of affairs. Out of the ruin that corruption, heartlessness and incompetency will have brought, there will arise a new order of things. Our profligate leaders, despisers and betrayers of the People, will fall victims to their own folly and blindness, and make room for such as will be true to the idea of Democracy and the People's rights. The outraged soldiers who live to return, will see to it, after the bitter experience they have had under the present barbarous system, that not only this but other corresponding features of our Government, as at present administered, be utterly abolished. In the new order of things there will be no wearing of gold lace, at a princely salary, by heartless nabobs, and performance of slavish drudgeries, for a mere pittance, by better and braver men. We shall then have Democracy in reality as well as in name. Let the career be run, the day is short!

Ten Thousand Dollars for a Free Paper.

I will be one of a hundred to pay ten thousand dollars, or one of fifty to pay five thousand, or one of twenty-five to pay two thousand five hundred, or one of ten to pay a thousand, or will alone pay a hundred—in annual installments of ten dollars, during ten years—for the benefit of the NEW REPUBLIC—provided it can be free. Not open to everything, regardless of quality or quantity. But it shall not reject, on account of sentiment, doctrine, faith or belief, what is offered in fair proportions, as to quantity, and expressed in perspicuous, decorous, wholesome language.

It is time for the world to have one free paper in it—one paper not saddled with sectism—not trammelled with one-ideaism—not identified with the interests of any party—not fearful of disturbing any institution, of whatever origin—not yielding to any authority, of whichever pretensions, human or superhuman. A paper that will advocate the rights of all beings, in their natural stations and relations; that will fearlessly expose error and wrong, in whatever party or place; that will suffer itself to be righted when it is wrong; that will require itself to be subservient to human interests, instead of requiring human interests to be subservient to itself.

No one man can long sustain such an enterprise alone. Whoever undertakes it and goes on with it alone, will soon find his funds exhausted and his energies prostrated. There must be co-operation, or there will be failure.

Twenty years I published a progressive paper—lavishing my means and exhausting my energies on it. During my six years of retirement since, I have

not been wholly unemployed thoughtfully and communicatively, nor have my grains of contribution in funds been withheld. My present ability therefore is limited. But the foregoing proposal is made in good faith. Among those who will see it, there must be many more than a hundred of far greater ability than mine, making pretensions of friendship and devotion to human freedom and enlargement.

If any can not forward their ten dollars at once, let it be forwarded in fives—or in single dollars monthly—or otherwise at their earliest convenience during the year.

We all expect to be taxed for the war, and to meet and pay it. Let us tax ourselves to make such a use of the press as shall counteract the pernicious, corrupting, depraving, demoralizing use that is too generally made of it, and prevent the recurrence of such a war and of its kindred. Such an investment will bless and not curse inheriting generations.

ORSON S. MURRAY.

Foster's Crossings, Warren Co., O., June 30, '62.

Our Friend Murray takes the right view of this question, and has proved that he is in earnest by forwarding his ten dollars. The *NEW REPUBLIC* was started because it was thought that the times, in the not far distant future, would imperatively demand such a journal, and because it was believed that with a plenty of perseverance and hard work it could be sustained, and that in the end it would not only be productive of more good than the same exertion could otherwise achieve, but prove a pecuniary success, at least to the extent of paying its cash expenses. The same view is still entertained, and the object will be persistently pursued. Radical papers cannot expect to pay expenses if all the labor bestowed upon them is paid. The *NEW REPUBLIC*, though better received than prospects at the start would seem to warrant, and though the question of its continuance seems removed from uncertainty to decided probability, yet it is and will be in great part, sustained by excessive and unpaid labor, unless its friends assume part of the burden.

Its Conductor lays no claim and will find no fault. He has not expected that any considerable number would so far agree with him as to the importance of such a journal at this time, as to be willing to share the cost of its publication. And yet if a paper is worth publishing it is worth being made better than it can be when its editor has not a moment to devote to reading, writing or other editorial duties, except after extra hours of severest toil; but we shall have a good and a free paper, thanks to our Contributors and our incorrigible love of freedom.

We are not so weak, however, as to imagine that there are not other papers as good as ours, in most respects, and in many respects better, but we believe that there is a demand not otherwise supplied, and

we believe that with proper co-operation the *NEW REPUBLIC* may be made to supply that demand. We will credit, through its columns, unless otherwise directed, all contributions for its support. I would suggest, however, that each one donate whatever he or she pleases and can, without pledging for the future. After the Paper pays expenses, not counting literary labor, no further donations will be asked for. Our friends I trust need not be told that any amount, however small, will be acceptable.

Query.

We insert in our advertising columns this week, an advertisement of a work on Free Love by Austin Kent. I presume it is an able work and that the subject is handled in a creditable manner, viewing it from the author's stand-point. Not having had time to read the work, I cannot speak advisedly of its merits from actual knowledge. But having heard it recommended for its decided ability, I have no hesitation in recommending it to such as are interested in the subject. The query is, whether Free Love and the "non-exclusive" doctrine of Kent, are really one and the same thing. Free Love, so called, or real, has, doubtless, various phases, and almost all sorts of advocates, not to mention some who do not advocate it; but some of them, I imagine, would protest against the "non-exclusive" idea being associated with Free Love, endorsing, as they do, the latter, as they understand it, but being greatly repelled from the former.

This is a subject that has occasioned a good deal of agitation in the Country, and no doubt received much serious thought; and connected as it is with the most important interests and relations of life, it is worthy any amount of earnest investigation. It is not likely that our social institutions, handed down to us as they have been from the infantile ages of the world, are more perfect than our political and religious institutions, and very possibly, like these, need some modification. With all our holy horror of innovation in this department, it is quite possible that Austin Kent, or J. H. Noyes, or Brigham Young, or the followers of Ann Lee, or Henry C. Wright, or Warren Chase, or some of the rest, have really important ideas and improvements to suggest. Let us not be too pharisaical to listen to them as we have opportunity.

We have an article from Mr. Kent, which we shall publish soon. We shall also copy an article from the Circular, giving a clear and condensed view of the Perfectionist phase of the question. Our columns are also open to a defense of Mormonism and Shakerism.

MISSING NUMBERS.—If any of our subscribers fail to receive their copies regularly it will not be our fault, but we will always supply missing numbers when requested. We are nearly out of Nos. 9 and 10. If any will mail us those numbers, unsoiled, we shall be under very great obligation.

The Protection of Society from Crime.

BY W. BYRD POWELL, M. D.

CHAPTER III.

THE NATURAL LAWS—JUDGE BLACKSTONE'S COMMENTARIES, &c.

If my readers shall have followed me to the conclusion that God never intended that the consequences which attend delinquency to the laws he ordained for the government of the world, should be regarded as penalties or punishments, but simply as the results of his immutability or philanthropy, and for which his wisdom and goodness made such provision as compatibility with his philanthropy could permit, then they are able, and I doubt not willing, to follow me through another chapter, and probably through many.

Inasmuch as man has no more power to create a law than he has to create a thing—for laws are of things, and where there is no thing there is no law—and inasmuch as all human relations exist under laws, which by God's authority inhere in our race, and as these laws constitute a part of the system of natural laws, because they are common or natural to man, and as it is clear that for the infringement of some of the natural laws punishment was not intended, it is legitimate to infer that punishment should not be consequent upon the infringement of any of them. As man has no power to create a law, such of his statutes as are not authorized by natural laws are usurpations; and if the penalties which he annexes to his unauthorized statutes be unauthorized by law, then they are clearly tyrannical, and of course adverse to the interest and elevation of society.

The brief reference that has been made to the natural laws shows that they are approved by the intellect of man as being agreeable to his moral nature; and it is very questionable whether an enlightened individual can be found who is not honestly inclined to contend that our social and municipal statutes should be founded in the same; in other words, it is assumed to be conceded that as man has many faculties which distinguish him from and elevate him above the brute creation, he should in his civilized state be governed by the natural laws, and that until he is, his condition must be regarded as being still savage or animal.

If I shall show that the criminal laws of all professedly civilized peoples are founded exclusively in the animal or brute nature of man, will not the cause be obvious to all my readers why they have failed, and continue to fail, to protect society in its civilized state? Is it possible that the same laws in principle are applicable to both the savage and civilized conditions of society?

I admit that an animal government is the best for an animal or savage state of society, and I further admit that such a government is better for civil society than no government. It is not, therefore, my

purpose to make war on our criminal laws, but merely to indicate to the law-making power, the people wherein they fail to protect society; and further, to indicate that in the nature of man the elements do exist for a system of laws that shall be in harmony with man's human nature, and which, if reduced to form, would both simplify the practice, and secure society to a much greater extent than has ever been done.

It will be conceded by all that dogs are mere animals, destitute of reasoning ability (or if they have any, it is exceedingly rudimentary,) and of moral sentiment; nevertheless they have many faculties in common with man, and hence the reason why they are useful to him. They are destructive, combative, secretive, acquisitive, cautious, &c. When a dog has more food than his present want demands, his acquisitiveness prompts him to save it, and for this purpose his secretiveness prompts him to hide or conceal it; if he detect any other dog, or any thing else, about to steal it, combativeness urges an assault, and destructiveness proceeds to inflict punishment; and when the punishment is supposed to be sufficient to make him fear to do so again, he is discharged.

Within the memory of our old citizens this was the practice in many portions of our country. The thief was whipped, and then restored to liberty, to steal again as soon as he pleased. The spirit of the law has not since changed—it is still punishment, and the punishment is intended to be proportioned to the crime; promotion is as certain and as regular with criminals as with soldiers and statesmen. The first distinction is a fine or imprisonment in the county jail; then the state's prison for a year or two; then for five or ten years; and then the gallows, or imprisonment for life. Thus, during a large portion of their lives, criminals are permitted to prey upon society. Each infliction of punishment strengthens their criminal appetite, and removes them still farther from all moral influence.

With savages the human sentiments are remarkably feeble, except that which enables them to endure torture,—the others have only a rudimentary existence; hence neither justice nor mercy has any agency in their civil polity—it is entirely selfish, founded alone in the idea of protection. Hence, neither self-defense, insanity, imbecility, idiocy, drunkenness, nor accident, presents an excusable plea for homicide; no extenuating circumstances are admitted, and therefore the killing of a man is invariably followed by an execution. With the exceptions of self-defense and accident, their practice, in principle, is correct.

However the question may be discussed, there is no protection for civil society except so far as may be incidental to an exercise of a supposed discriminating justice. Civil society is a great stickler for justice: for each ounce of crime there must be administered an ounce of punishment; the "pound of flesh" is constantly held before the eye of justice, and society has no right to protection any farther than this exercise

of justice will permit. To send a man to jail for a day, or to give him two lashes with a cowhide, for stealing two yards of tape, would be deemed a very just decision; but to send him to prison, there to remain till he became an honest man, would be thought by the law to be a great outrage of criminal justice. In the estimation of our laws, it would be more just to allow a man to steal from every house in the city, and as often as caught play dog with him, and let him go.

Legislators have got themselves into a dilemma about remedies for public wrongs from which no amount of genius can extricate them, without a thorough abandonment of their fundamental principles. Blackstone, the great common law oracle, says: "Though the end of punishment is to deter men from offending, it never can follow thence, that it is lawful to deter them at any rate and by any means." This qualification proves that I was correct in stating that the protection of society was only incidental to the demands of criminal justice. If the protection of society were the fundamental object, the end would justify the means, however severe. His qualification destroys the principle. Society is to be protected; but mark! it must be done by means which in practice may, as they always have done, prove inadequate.

An examination of the laws of any or of every department of God's Providence will be found to proclaim this fundamental doctrine: the preservation of the species, the greatest good to the greatest number, at any requisite sacrifice of individuals. In conformity with this natural law, Judge Blackstone should have taught: the end or object of punishment is the protection of society; and to effect its achievement, the remedy should be pushed to the requisite extent.

Savages have no means of confining, employing and supporting their criminals, and yet the preservation of their species makes it necessary that they should have protection, which can be had only by the infliction of death; and the execution of criminals, in this state of society, is more agreeable to public feeling, than any variety of imprisonment.

If it were the policy of our savages to seek protection by exciting fear, as is done by civil society, the infliction of death would soon cease, and in its stead would be instituted the practice of inflicting on the face a wound that would leave a homely cicatrix, and then the delinquent would execute himself, for no savage will live with his face "spoiled." Indian savages never attempt to produce fear; and if an Indian father were to see his son or any male relative exhibit fear, he would instantly kill him; and if an offender against the laws were to manifest an unwillingness to meet the penalty, death, as a "great brave," he would be despised by his relatives, and treated contemptuously by all his tribe or clan.

Savages act upon a different and wiser principle than civil society does; they infer that the man who commits one capital offense may very probably com-

mit another unless restrained; and the only means they have of restraining him is by taking his life. In the savage state the infliction of death is justifiable by every consideration that is dear to municipal existence. In civil society the execution of delinquents is not justifiable, because society can be thoroughly protected by prisons; and further, the delinquent, while in prison, can be rendered useful, and while being made useful, his human nature may be so operated upon as to render him a safe and useful citizen.

Many able writers have doubted, and many have persistently denied, that society has the right to take the life of a fellow-being; but I admit the right to exist, and to be even a duty when it becomes indispensable to protection. It has also been contended that man has an inherent right to life and liberty. I admit that he has, conditionally; that is, so long as does not use them to the injury of others—so long as he lives in conformity with the injunctions of the human sentiments, but no longer; and for the reason that he has no natural or inherent right to do wrong to others. Therefore, when he does a wrong he forfeits his right to liberty; and if society be so circumstanced that it cannot deprive him of his liberty without depriving him of his life, then the latter becomes justifiable as a means of self protection.

Blackstone informs us "that the quantity of punishment can never absolutely be determined by any standing invariable rule." It would certainly be very instructive to know the smallest fraction to which genius and justice have arrived in given cases. He goes on to remark that we must be guided by the "laws of nature and society." But I have shown that nature has not authorized punishment in any case; and as to society, he has not instructed us where to look for light between the two extremes of savagism and civilization. But this omission amounts to nothing, because the race has not as yet produced a social state that was not too much under the government of the animal propensities to lose sight of the "pound of flesh."

Ever since civilization commenced, society has been experimenting to discover the requisite punishments for known crimes, and yet the discovery has to be made. We must conclude that this is a remarkable fact, more especially when we reflect that every variety and extreme of punishment that ingenuity has been able to invent has been tried, and all have failed; and that as civilization is advanced and discriminated, crime increases. The idea of the Alchemists, of converting the base into the precious metals, was not more absurd and ridiculous, in physical science, than that of legislators in hoping to produce, in mental science, moral results by outraging and arousing the animal propensities.

The stocks, tread-wheels, branding, cropping, whipping with the rawhide, the knout, imprisonment, transportation, the garrote, the guillotine, and hanging, have all been most thoroughly tested in all varieties of criminal delinquency, and for what? to

produce honesty, reverence for the laws, or at least a fear of them? Is not this mental alchemy? If we analyze these remedies for crime, we shall find them all to be as base as the dog law of throttling—destructiveness teaching cautiousness to fear.

Blackstone further informs us that "there are some general principles, drawn from the nature and circumstances of the crime, that may be of some assistance in allotting it an adequate punishment." Has it all amounted to only this, to afford "some assistance"—the only result of six thousand years of legislative alchemy? He adds, "punishments are chiefly intended for the prevention of future crimes." For what other purpose were they intended? They certainly could not have been designed to prevent antecedent crimes! Besides the prevention of crime in the future, if the truth must be told, they were intended to secure the pound of flesh to feed destructiveness in obedience to the demands of criminal justice!

If punishment possesses the virtue of preventing crime, how does it happen that offenders in almost every County of every State rise by degrees from petit larceny to highway robbery and murder? Murrel said to me that the whipping-post made him a robber; and Gibbs, the pirate, said he was not inclined to be more than a pirate, but the laws made him a murderer.

Blackstone further says that "if there be any doubt whether the party be *compos* or not, this shall be tried by a jury." Suppose any one of our distinguished astronomers had taught that if there be any doubt as to whether the fixed stars be inhabited or not, "this shall be tried by a jury"—would not the world have concluded that he was *non compos*? and yet the fact is not more easily ascertained in the former case than in the latter. Could it have been intended, in the wisdom of God's providence, that the protection of society should depend upon the settlement of such a question?

It has been shown that our criminal laws are founded in the animal propensities, and it is known that they have not adequately protected society, though prosecuted with every possible promptitude and energy, and to every possible extremity; and it now remains to be shown that they never can.

They Never Fail.

They never fail who die

In a great cause; the block may soak their gore:
Their heads may sadden in the sun: their limbs
Be strung to city gates and castle walls—
But still their spirit walks abroad. Though years
Elaſe, and others share as dark a doom,
They but augment the deep and sweeping thoughts
Which overpower all others, and conduct
The World at last to Freedom.

—[Byron.

PROSPECTUS OF THE NEW REPUBLIC.

At a time so momentous as the present, there is an imperative demand for the exercise of all the wisdom, heroism, self-sacrifice, charity, and the forgetting of all past differences, and the sinking of all worldly ambition, in one sublime, prayerful, determined, brotherly effort to save our beloved country from the terrible ruin that more than threatens to swallow up our liberties, prosperity, peace. How to conquer the rebels, is not all of the great problem that must be settled before there is any certainty that we, as a Nation, have anything in the future to hope for.

The NEW REPUBLIC has two leading and distinctive objects: First, by humble and modest, but earnest and thorough effort, to promote, to the fullest extent of its ability, that fraternity of feeling among all parties and classes of society, on which our salvation so vitally depends. Second, to discuss, in a free, untrammelled manner, but in no partisan, dogmatical or dictatorial spirit, all of those fundamental and practical questions and principles of Government and human rights which the adjustment of our National politics will involve.

Society is divided into three distinct and leading classes. The Radical Reformer, the Liberal Conservative, and the opponent of Progress. The tendencies of the times are toward a union of the first two classes. No radical reform or idea has been advocated, but has embodied an important, though possibly mixed and partial truth. The agitation of single reforms, has been useful mainly in the way of preparing the public mind for a comprehensive understanding and thorough adjustment of, the great political and social questions that lie at the basis of our National happiness and well-being. The law of extremes and equilibrium is a universal law. Extremisms in reform have been necessary to balance the opposite extreme of stationary conservatism. The illustration has been that of extremes: the tendency now is toward equilibrium.

The aim of the NEW REPUBLIC will be to combine an earnest and energetic radicalism with a wise conservatism. It will advocate all rational reforms, and seek to promote a greater unity of feeling, and concert of action, and comprehensiveness of view, among all classes of reformers. It will take sides with no party, and will never be involved in personal or party quarrels, of any kind, or in any degree. So far as it acknowledges and follows leadership, Jesus Christ will be its standard in morals, and Thomas Jefferson in politics. It will advocate a reconstruction in our Government so far as to allow of a settlement of the Slavery question in such a manner as not to involve the sacrifice of justice, freedom, human rights, a sound policy and the Nation's safety, on the one hand, or unconstitutional and despotic methods on the other. It will advocate a radical revolution in politics and governmental administration, so far as there has been a departure from the Jeffersonian Platform, and systematic and persistent violation of the fundamental principles of the Government. It will be an especial advocate of simplicity and economy in Government, and attempt to demonstrate the correctness of the doctrine that "that Government is best that governs least." It will advocate a uniform and national system of currency, a uniform and humane system of prison discipline, uniform marriage and divorce laws, a new and improved system of representation, and present suggestive ideas on the subject of schools, internal improvements, post-office regulations &c. It will also give the thoughts of the ablest writers on Anthropological and Physiological science.

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